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PAGE 01 STATE 213300

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 213300

NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOLLOWING REPEAT CAIRO 8796 ACTION SECSTATE 07 SEP 75

QUOTE

S E C R E T CAIRO 8796

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EG IS

SUBJECT: WHAT WE CAN DO TO HELP SADAT

REF: CAIRO 8795

1. AS REPORTED REFTEL SADAT AND GOE ARE CURRENTLY
UNDER GREAT ARAB (ESPECIALLY SYRIAN) AND SOVIET PRESSURE
ABOUT THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED AGREEMENT. GOE IS AWARE THAT
IT IS ENGAGED IN ONE OF THE MAJOR STRUGGLES OF SADAT'S
CAREER AND IS FIGHTING BACK AS BEST IT CAN. SADAT IS
TALKING TO ALL KINDS OF PEOPLE AND ORGANIZATIONS TO DRUM
SECRET

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PAGE 02 STATE 213300

UP DOMESTIC SUPPORT. ALTHOUGH MOST OF HIS ADVISERS

CONSIDER THE AGREEMENT A POOR ONE, THEY ARE AT LEAST PUBLICLY RALLYING AROUND SADAT TO LEND THEIR WEIGHT TO THIS EFFORT. FAHMY, ONE OF THE STRONGEST CRITICS IN PRIVATE OF THE AGREEMENT, HAS MET WITH FOREIGN AMBASSADORS,

ENGAGED IN VIGOROUS VERBAL FISTICUFFS WITH SOVIET CHARGE, AND HAS INSTRUCTED ALL OF HIS AMBASSADORS ABROAD TO EXPLAIN THE AGREEMENT AND TO SOLICIT SUPPORT. HE IS CONCERNED ABOUT HOW LITTLE USEFUL SUPPORT GOE HAS THUS FAR RECEIVED. MOST OF THE EUROPEANS HAVE SENT CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES, BUT THESE, HE POINTS OUT, ARE OF LITTLE VALUE IN TRYING TO PERSUADE CRITICAL ARAB WORLD. FAHMY IS UNDER NO ILLUSION ABOUT HIGH RISKS INVOLVED IN ONGOING BATTLE AND CURRENTLY GIVES SADAT A "40 PERCENT" CHANCE OF WINNING OUT WITHOUT SERIOUS HARM TO THE PRESIDENT'S STATUS AND REPUTATION. WHILE FAHMY IS GIVEN TO DRAMATIC HYPERBOLE, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT HE IS GENUINELY WORRIED ABOUT SADAT'S IMAGE AND PERHAPS EVEN MORE SO ABOUT WHAT HE CONSIDERS TO BE GOE'S DAMAGED PRESTIGE AND INFLUENCE IN ARAB WORLD.

2. FAHMY CONTENTS THAT USG, WHICH HE BLAMES FOR GETTING SADAT INTO THIS SITUATION, IS NOT DOING ENOUGH TO ASSIST HIM IN DEFENDING THE AGREEMENT. SPECIFICALLY, HE REQUESTS THAT WE INSTRUCT OUR AMBASSADORS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE, TO APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENT TO EXPLAIN SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AND SOLICIT PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT WHICH MIGHT BE USEFUL TO GOE IN BATTLINE AGAINST ITS CRITICS. SUCH APPROACHES WOULD SUPPLEMENT THOSE ALREADY BEING MADE BY EGYPTIAN AMBASSADORS.

3. FAHMY IS PARTICULARLY DISAPPOINTED WITH THE SILENCE OF EGYPT'S ARAB FRIENDS. HE NOTES THAT ONLY KING HASSAN HAS UP TO NOW PUBLICLY APPLAUDED THE NEW AGREEMENT. EVEN SAUDIS HAVE REMAINED SILENT. THE ONLY PUBLIC INDICATION OF KING KHALED'S VIEW IS YOUR STATEMENT ON LEAVING RIYADH THAT THE SAUDI MONARCH WELCOMES THE AGREEMENT. WHAT IS NEEDED, FAHMY SAYS, IS A FORTHRIGHT, PUBLIC STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FROM KING KHALED, AS WELL AS FROM

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 213300

BOURGUIBA AND OTHER ARAB LEADERS. A STATEMENT FROM KHALED WOULD HAVE CONSIDERABLE IMPACT IN THE GULF AREA AND MIGHT ALSO MAKE SOME OF THE GULF LEADERS WILLING PUBLICLY TO ENDORSE THE AGREEMENT.

4. WHILE PRIMARY EFFORT SHOULD PROPERLY BE EGYPTIAN, THERE ARE SOME SUPPLEMENTARY ACTIONS WHICH WE COULD TAKE TO BOLSETER SADAT'S IMAGE AND POSITION AT THIS DIFFICULT

JUNCTURE:

A. U G SHOULD URGE ISRAELI LEADERS TO DESIST FROM PUBLIC STATEMENTS WHICH ARE DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY DESIGNED TO SPLIT ARAB FRONT BY CONTRASTING SADAT'S ALLEGED WILLINGNESS TALK ABOUT PEACE WITH CONTINUING BELLIGERENCY OTHER ARABS. AS WE POINTED OUT LAST JANUARY, THIS KIND OF TALK, WHILE PERFECTLY UNDERSTANDABLE IN ISRAELI CONTEXT, IS POLITICAL DYNAMITE FOR SADAT AND CAN ONLY WEAKEN HIM. IN WHOLE ARAB LEXICON, THERE IS NO GREATER INSULT THAN TO BE CALLED TRAITOR TO ARAB UNITY. GOI STATEMENTS ABOUT SADAT'S WILLINGNESS MOVE FORWARD ON PEACE FRONT ARE INTERPRETED BY OTHER ARABS AS MEANING GOE HAS INDICATED TO GOI THAT SEPARATE PEACE IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE. SHOULD THIS CONCEPT GAIN CREDENCE AMONG MODERATES, SADAT'S CHANCES OF SURVIVAL AS MAJOR ARAB POLITICAL LEADER WILL PLUMMET. ONLY USG CAN HELP SADAT OUT OF THIS CORNER, SINCE SADAT PERSONALLY CAN DO NOTHING MORE THAN PROTEST HIS INNOCENCE, AS HE DID IN SEPT 3 SPEECH. PRESIDENT IS NATURALLY RELUCTANT ACKNOWLEDGE PUBLICLY SOME OF THINGS TO WHICH HE HAS AGREED PRIVATELY. FURTHER, SHOULD HE INITIATE STRONG COUNTER-BARRAGE OF PROPAGANDA ISRAELIS COULD CORRECTLY CLAIM HE IS NOT ONLY RENEGING ON HIS UNDERSTANDING WITH US ON ESCHEWING HOSTILE PROPAGANDA, BUT ALSO THAT HE IS DELIBERATELY HOLDING UP IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT. ISRAELIS HAVE MADE NO SECRET OF THEIR BELIEF THAT EXISTENCE OF MODERATE GOVERNMENTS IN EGYPT AND SYRIA HAS UNDERCUT THEIR ABILITY "POLARIZE" USG ON ISRAELI SIDE IN MIDDLE EAST. THAT GOE WOULD SHED NO TEARS AT SADAT'S DISAPPEARANCE IS ASSUMED HERE AND USG CANNOT AFFORD TO APPEAR, EVEN BY OUR QUIESCENCE, TO BE CONDONING DELIVERATE PUBLIC EMBARRASSMENT OF SADAT FOR DOING WHAT WE ASKED HIM TO DO, I.E. SIGNING AGREEMENT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 213300

B. WE SHOULD DO SOME STRONG TALKING TO THE SOVIETS TO HALT THEIR ATTACKS ON THE AGREEMENT AND ON SADAT. THIS WOULD TAKE SOME OF THE HEAT OFF HIM. INCIDENTALLY, FAHMY CLAIMS SOVIETS ARE OFFERING SYRIANS NEW ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO PERSUADE ASAD NOT TO AGREE TO NEW SYRIAN-ISRAELI INTERIM AGREEMENT.

C. WE SHOULD INSIST ON EXPEDITIOUS AND METICULOUS IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT.

D. WE SHOULD INSIST ON EARLY ACTIVATION OF OUR EFFORTS ON GOLAN FRONT. IF WE ARE DETERMINED INITIATE DISCUSSIONS ON NEW SYRIAN DISENGAGEMENT, WE SHOULD CONSIDER PUBLIC STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT AND NOT LEAVE UNANSWERED SUCH ISRAELI STATEMENTS AS RABIN'S OF YESTERDAY

WHEN, ACCORDING TO BBC, HE SAID MOVEMENT ON GOLAN IS
"IMPOSSIBLE" AND THAT MOVEMENT ON JORDAN FRONT WOULD IN
ANY CASE COME THIRD.

E. WE SHOULD MOVE AHEAD EXPEDITIOUSLY ON GENEROUS ECONOMIC
ASSISTANCE TO EGYPT.

5. SINCE OUR EFFORTS SHOULD BE COORDINATED WITH THOSE
OF GOE, I WOULD APPRECAIATE SOME INDICATION OF WHAT
YOU CONSIDER FEASIBLE IN TERMS OF ABOVE RECOMMENDATIONS.
IN ORDER OBTAIN SOME KUDOS, WE SHOULD KEEP EGYPIANS
ADVISED OF ANY ACTION WE MAY DECIDE TO TAKE.
EILTS

UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

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